1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The plaza was the center of Trumaí social life. Here guests were entertained, ceremonials and wrestling matches were held, and the men gathered daily. Although the women might sit in front of their houses and watch these activities, they were not allowed to come near the log bench, even when the men were not there. The plaza of the Trumaí village was also used as the burying ground.

A short distance north of the circle of houses, on the path to the two main garden clearings of the Trumaí, was another smaller clearing used during the *ole*, or manioc, ceremonies. Other paths radiated outward from the village to the other gardens and to nearby groves of *piquí* trees. Quain noticed that the paths leading to the Kamayurá village were much broader and cleaner. The Kamayurá were proud of their paths and kept them in good condition. Their plaza was also clearer of weeds and trash than that of the Trumaí.

Of the four completed houses in the village, two were as large as those of the Kamayurá, but the other two, which were much smaller, were considered by Quain's informants to be genuinely Trumaí in type. Insofar as is known, the details of the construction and shape of all four were substantially the same. They had an elliptical floor plan and were haystack-shaped. Although the side walls were only four feet high, the roof attained a height of fifteen feet. The silhouette of the house was an almost smooth curve from ridge pole to ground. The frame was covered with a grass thatch. There were no windows, and a single entry opened on the plaza.

Each family occupied its own section of the house and had its own fireplace. Personal belongings hung from the walls and ceilings or were placed on small shelves. Hammocks were hung between the side wall posts and the two center posts, the woman's hammock beneath that of her husband. Except for two nuclear families that screened off their sections with blankets and cloth given them by Quain, there was no internal division of the house.

The two largest garden clearings were situated respectively about one mile northeast and one mile northwest of the village. Three small ones were located southeast of the settlement. In order of size, the gardens were named Nariatan, Waniwanitan, Anariatan, Tan Toreake, and Tandatake. Nariatan, the largest, contained, by Quain's rough calculation, approximately seven acres divided into ten plots, representing the gardens of seven men. One plot contained two acres, but the average garden varied between one-fourth and one acre in size. One of the men had erected a temporary thatch shelter in his plot, providing protection from the sun, but not from the rain. Inside there was only a basket of manioc flour, a rack for cooking fish, and a large shallow pot into which manioc was grated. This was the sole garden shelter Quain saw, and, significantly, it belonged to the most industrious horticulturist in the village.

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421 437 524 [156] [527] It was

significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work.

This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumaí culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was [177] a Bakairí custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairí traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.[1]

The Household

171 516 622

Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a sub-chief of the village.[2] Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumaí village.

592 613 [591] [165]

Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units, but these nucleii of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.

592 594

Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumaí household. Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

589 592 182

Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific functions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumaí to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

[1] The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairí, as its existence among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 73). However, craft specialization and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 196, 207. [177]

[2] De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1953, p. 48.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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mitigated by intra-household sharing and the performance of services, normally done by mates, by co-resident relatives of the opposite sex. In this way unmarried persons could be integrated within the Trumai economy.

Among the twenty-eight persons of marriage age in the Trumai village, there were only eight unions involving seventeen persons. The eleven unmarried included one widower with a young child, one divorced man with a child, three widows with children, four unmarried men, and two unmarried women.

One of the widows was married during Quain's sojourn, but the other two were considered too old. One of the unmarried women subsequently took a mate, but the other, who had a clubfoot, was thought to be too old and ugly for marriage, although several men had sexual relations with her. Two of the unmarried men were probably also considered too old for marriage, a third was seeking a wife, and the fourth showed little interest in obtaining one. Neither the widower nor the divorced man were seeking wives at the time.

All these persons had made some sort of adjustment through their relatives. The incorporation of two of the unmarried men and of one of the widows into Nitvary's household shows how a functional interdependence within the household was achieved, despite the lack of a lineage in residence. Living at one end of the house were two old unmarried men, Yahu and Yakuma. At the other end were Nitvary, his wife Kaiti, his widowed mother Fayeru, and his young sister Kayaya. Gift-giving and food-sharing went on between all of the people in the house, but the two single men depended most on Fayeru, whom they called "sister," while Nitvary's needs were provided for by his wife. The members of the household were all dependent on each other, as Kaiti alone would have been hard pressed to do woman's work for two more men. Their presence, however, meant more food for the house.

In Aloari's house his unmarried brother Tun provided food for the cooking pots of Aloari's wife Yumunuwa, while her brother Oirupa exchanged services with his classificatory sister Yawala, the club-footed woman. By this free flow of food and service, which was especially marked between the sexes, each individual was economically fully functional, and everyone in the household was adequately cared for.

Most of the arguments in the village occurred between members of different houses. Aloari, his brother, and his brother-in-law showed considerable personal antipathy toward Maibu and jealousy of his status as chief. When a serious conflict broke out in the village over a marriage, it took the form of verbal quarrels between members of different houses.

The greater amity between co-residents was due to a number of factors. First, closer kinship ties usually prevailed, second, people on

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592 578 friendly terms tended to join in forming a household, and third, it was probably considered desirable to suppress ill feeling within the house.

571 578 592 The unfriendliness between Maibu and the men of Aloari's family existed side by side with close gift-giving obligations between their two houses. According to Aloari's brother Oirupa, he *pans* (gives) to all the people of his own house and also to all the people of Maibu's house. Residence was the crucial factor, for when Yanahi and Mayuva moved from his house, Oirupa no longer gave to them. Similarly, the two other houses had close gift-giving ties. The women united according to this house division when an attack was thought imminent.

114 592 602 Insofar as can be ascertained from Quain's genealogical data, there were no special kin bonds between the households of Maibu and Aloari, on one hand, and Jakwanari and Nitvary, on the other, to explain this moiety-like division. But it is of interest that the houses of both Maibu and Aloari were the large type of domicile, like those of the Kamayurá, whereas the other pair of houses were the smaller "true" Trumaí type. It is possible that the residents of one pair of houses, perhaps the smaller, were the descendants of inhabitants of the southern village.

The Nuclear Family

594 Despite the importance of the household and the bilateral consanguineal group, the nuclear family, consisting of man, wife, and children, was still the basic unit of Trumaí society and economy. The biological family could provide nearly all the necessities of life within the previously outlined framework of individualized production and division of labor between the sexes.

The responsibilities of child-rearing fell largely on the nuclear family. The Trumaí showed a fondness for children, and it was not unusual for other adults in the house to play with them and watch over them; but the chief attention came from the parents, and the dependence of the young upon the father and mother was stronger than upon the rest of the household.

[513] 593 The conjugal group had its own hearth near which its hammocks were strung. Very young children slept with the mother or, if motherless, with the father. Couples were companionable and spent much of their leisure time with each other. It was common for a man and wife to sit in the shade of their house in the afternoon while he made arrows and she worked in a hammock. At other times the couple would go on a short gathering trip, or just idle around the house. Embraces or mild sex play [832] often occurred in public between younger mates.

593 156 Some unions were closer than others. Aloari and his wife Yumunuwa spent more time together and showed more affection than did other couples. They were both young; he was virile and aggressive, and she

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Divorce and Adultery

595 The polygynous unions were extremely brittle. In two cases observed
586 by Quain, they lasted only a few days. In both instances the first wife
was responsible for the break-up. The bonds of the second marriage of a
[837] plural mating were loose, for Jakwanari's second wife had sexual re-
lations with several Trumaí men with apparent impunity. Such behavior
would have been dealt with severely by a husband had his first wife
586 been involved. Divorces also occurred in monogamous marriages; they
entailed little more than telling the wife to leave. After the birth of
their son, Oirupa sent his Mehinaku wife back to her village and kept
the child. The right of the father's village over the children seems to have
been general in the area, for Autu had a son by a Waurá husband,
whom the Waurá refused to give to the Trumaí.

684 There is no recorded instance of adultery precipitating a divorce,
[586] although this probably occurred. However, the usual procedure was for
the injured husband to beat his wife and make a lengthy and heated
speech against the offending suitor. The wife of an adulterous husband
[578] showed anger toward his paramour and did not speak to her. Hair
pulling resulted in some cases. The husband's behavior was viewed as
reprehensible by the wife, but she took no action against him. One
wife even chuckled a bit over her husband's adventures, although
jealousy is the more usual response.

837 Due to the threat of punishment, the married women engaged far less
in extra-marital relations than did their husbands. Both married and
unmarried men sought out unattached women, but instances of married
men in such liaisons were less numerous. The younger married men and
Maibu, the chief, seemed to have been the chief offenders. The latter
[582] complained to Quain that all the women in the village were prohibited
to him, as they were his wife's cross-cousins. Neither his genealogy nor
his activities bore him out, and he often approached the single women
and Jakwanari's second wife when the other men were out of the village.
Everyone conceded that, although Maibu's wife had not reached meno-
pause, she was "too old." Thus they rationalized his escapades.

105 The instability of the nuclear family and the vicissitudes to which it
571 was exposed were alleviated by household and kin distribution and by
594 the interdependence of co-resident relatives of the opposite sex for
595 sexually specialized goods and services. These arrangements made
possible the economic workability of Trumaí culture. The conjugal
family was basic to the culture, however, and marriage was highly
[836] desirable to the Trumaí. Despite the shortage of available women and
[578] the conflicts which stemmed from it, sex relations between unmarried
persons were free and easy and subject to little or no public censure,
000 except insofar as they encroached on the interests of others. Incest

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pursue their individual affairs. Maibu made speeches in the evening men's circle or in the early morning, telling the men to plant their gardens or urging all to gather *piqui* fruit. Such proddings had little meaning, as they were usually made during the appropriate season for these activities, and most people would have planted or gathered as a matter of course. 622 537

Those who did not choose to do what Maibu suggested went their own way, whether it was to fish or sleep. Maibu was a gadfly; yet he was the conscience of the Trumaí. Perhaps more people would have procrastinated if it had not been for his admonitions. He was truly interested in the good of the village. He asked Quain for presents only for others, never for himself. 622

Cooperative work on the community level was usually organized by Maibu. The decision to perform such work was generally made by common agreement, but it was the chief's function to recruit the necessary labor and see that the task was done. This he did with varying degrees of success, for his power was limited. 622 476

The chief was accorded much more respect by his housemates and close kinsmen than by the rest of the villagers. The people resisted him in varying degrees, depending on their relationship to him and their individual personalities. His control over the women was particularly weak. When Quain first arrived, they refused to carry water for him, despite Maibu's orders. When they realized that they were to be given gifts for their trouble they grudgingly consented to do so, but, in the meantime, the chief had fetched the water, since the performance of such tasks for an outsider was the responsibility of the village as a whole, and no other man would do women's work. 622 592 554 [123] [574] [609]

Referring to the limitations on chiefly powers, Quain noted, "Maibu has to put up with a lot of booing and do a lot of talking. Obedience comes to him only after a long time. He seems to have no 'big stick.'" 622 554

The Trumaí chief had no coercive power whatsoever. This particular headman was not a powerful shaman, although such a combination was possible and would undoubtedly have enhanced his position. The only act of a supernatural nature that he could perform was curing by sucking and blowing smoke, which was practiced by almost every adult Trumaí male. [756] [755]

Maibu was often completely ignored, and some of the men made a point of flouting his authority. The men of Aloari's house were extremely antagonistic toward him and told Quain that he was not a true "*aek*." These men rarely took part in the few group work projects and usually they were also absent from the wrestling matches. Their own prestige motives and individual inclinations brought them into frequent conflict with Maibu, both in his capacity as the man of highest status and as the village goad. Their resentment of authority never resulted in

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APPENDIX

Buell Quain, in a letter to the late Dr. Ruth Benedict written from Brazil on December 21, 1938, summarized several aspects of Trumaí culture which have a direct and immediate bearing on their decline. Following are excerpts of ethnological interest from this letter, which was discovered after this monograph was completed:

"They are a dying culture. Each generation improves its imitation of Kamayurá culture. Everyone in the village knows a few Kamayurá words. Almost all the songs in the manioc fertility ceremony are Kamayurá. Half the people in the village can carry on a conversation in Kamayurá with ease. One household (there are four) uses Kamayurá in preference to Trumaí. The mother of the house owner speaks no Trumaí; she is a Kamayurá woman who has lived with the Trumaí for about twenty-five years. The child of the household, a ten year old girl, confuses Kamayurá kinship terms with Trumaí in classifying the village. All Trumaí women between twenty and forty have been captive wives among the Kamayurá (which puts the Trumaí men in a peculiar position which they fully but fruitlessly resent) .... They have lots of disorganized leisure. They are sleepy (in part because of insects and fear throughout the night). They are ready to imitate not only the Kamayurá, but me, in petty daily habits. No outsider speaks Trumaí.

"There is nobody among them who volunteers information of ethnological value. For three months I dug for structure and got very little... Dullness cannot be attributed to the climate.

"The village is small .... Each of the four households — now five because of a recent split — are organized, or perhaps disorganized, according to different sociological principals. Three of the seventeen women are of foreign birth; one is Kamayurá, one is Mehinaku, and one is Suyá. The first two speak no Trumaí. A fourth woman with ringworm and two sick children is said to be Yaulapití, but she is well set in Trumaí culture. Nobody claims her as a relative (in part because of aversion toward her ringworm); hence she is used as a prostitute by every man in the village — she is the village joke. Among the men, I have found remarkably uniform responses to various 'tests'. (I said 'Draw a picture of a woman and a man.' Every man but one drew the woman first and oriented her in a distinctive way on the paper. The women showed no such regularity. One Kamayurá man tested also lacked this stereotyped response.)